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## NEW BOOKS REVIEWED

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FAIR PLAY FOR THE WORKERS. By Percy Stickney Grant. New York: Moffat, Yard & Company.

Religion—or rather the faith that underlies all true religion—should lead and control in all things. That this is believed, in the broadest sense and in the last resort, by the vast majority of civilized human beings, the war would seem to show.

There is, however, connected with this view of religion, a difficulty, in the form of a subtle paradox, which has been responsible for more misunderstanding than it would be easy to trace.

Briefly, the paradox is that you cannot successfully regard religion as either the *whole* or a *part*. The attempt to do either breaks down invariably in practice, and religion suffers by the failure.

If you regard religion as the *whole*, then you have theocracy in government, and servitude of the sciences to theology—or, at lowest, such an importation of theological methods and preconceptions into the sciences as deprives scientific thought of its independence and its worth.

But if you choose the other alternative—if you regard religion as only a part of life—then promptly religion ceases to be spiritual. It either becomes altogether a side-issue or loses itself in welfare work, in clubs, in forums, in politics, in culture.

The true view, if one may venture to formulate it, would seem to be that religious faith works through knowledge, just as the soul works through reason. The two are almost inseparable, but they are distinct. Without faith, no sanity, no good use of knowledge, perhaps ultimately no knowledge at all. Without knowledge, no faith that is easily distinguishable from placid ignorance—except, perhaps, in the moral geniuses, the saints and the mystics. Normally, intuition works through reason, guides it, informs it, but is felt as something higher than reason—something almost identified with reason, which cannot safely be either divorced from reason or substituted for it.

Thus much, in definition of his own attitude, the reviewer may perhaps be justified in writing, because there appears no other way of expressing adequately his thorough approval of Dr. Grant's interpretation of the ministerial function as indicated in this book.

Dr. Grant—rector for many years of the Church of the Ascension in New York, and author of several books, among which is *Christianity and Socialism*—perceives that religion must affect industrial life, and affect it in more than a consolatory or compensatory way. He declares

with as much truth as force that "the Great War has exploded for our generation the idea that religion can be something apart from the whole organization of life." He intends, it would appear, to make his religious convictions effectual through knowledge and through acts. He is, thus, no mere theological dabbler in sociology bringing ready-made formulas to solve trying problems, or soothing phrases to reconcile men's minds to them. Nor is he merely a student of social questions who happens to be also a clergyman. He is a man of religion who studies sociology in order to know what is right. This is eminently one of the things that religion should lead men to do.

What Dr. Grant gives us is a critical and challenging presentation of the real industrial problems.

The cause of industrial unrest, Dr. Grant perceives, is simply that the workingmen have been "deprived of industrial franchise." Labor has lost the status—the security—that it had under feudal conditions. The modern theory of contract "has not restored the workingman to an integral place in our social economy." Nor can the resultant ills be cured by philanthropy. "Philanthropy," Dr. Grant says bluntly, "is practically played out"—and he proves his assertion.

Industrial dissatisfaction so deeply based is not permanently compatible with patriotism. The average well-to-do citizen in this country has little conception of the number of workers who are frankly unpatriotic because they feel that the country has given them no cause to love it, and that its boasted democracy is, so far as they are concerned, a humbug. True, all classes of labor loyally supported the Government during our war with Germany. But it is not to be forgotten, as Dr. Grant acutely points out, that the patriotism of the working classes is founded not so much upon actual conditions as upon an ideal which they believe their country specially qualified to realize. The lesson is plain.

The problem of securing justice and contentment for the American laborer broadens to include the question of immigration. It must be said just here that Dr. Grant dismisses Malthus rather too curtly as a mere "Jonah", and that he disregards a rather large and authoritative body of opinion when he declares that "we cannot shut out 'foreigners' and still be true to our ideals and to our practical requirements." To Dr. Grant, indeed, immigration appears to be less a matter of competing standards of living than a question of education and of moral assimilation. He is certainly right, however, in contending that the blending of races not too diverse is advantageous, and that practically all the races that come to us furnish sound and adaptable human material. He points out, moreover, a phase of the matter that has been too little emphasized when he suggests the wisdom of making America a country that will attract immigrants of the most desirable type.

Dr. Grant formulates the needs of the workers clearly and eloquently. As a believer in physical culture he places bodily training for health where it belongs—among the major goods of life. He advocates greater opportunity for free speech as a means of "mental adjustment." He does not hesitate to call some of our laws unjust as bearing upon labor, and to say that laws are unjustly administered. He calls for a greater sense of responsibility upon the part of the rich. He makes us ashamed of the enormous waste of material and of brains and of manhood which he proves to be going on constantly.

In many ways Dr. Grant gives his readers a real insight into the industrial unrest of the time. He shows the depth of the feeling and its reasonableness; he makes plain that trades-unionism is not really an adequate means to relieve it. He demonstrates that much of what we are accustomed to call socialism is merely "democracy getting its second wind." And finally he affirms with truth that "the cure for democracy is more democracy."

What form is this enlargement of democracy to take? Not that of radical socialism certainly. "Current legislation indicates the lines of future advances—what might be called the liquidation of privilege. Public Service Commissions, Rates Commissions, Corporation Tax Laws, Income Taxes, and not socialistic platforms, will, for a long time to come be responsible for our economic reforms. Notice the list of Federal Commissions that a few years ago would have been thought socialistic:

"Civil Service Commission, Eight-Hour Day Commission, Federal Reserve Board, Federal Trade Commission, Interstate Commerce Commission, National Forest Reservation Commission, United States Board of Mediation and Conciliation, Federal Farm Loan Board."

But is there not a more specific "way out"? There is. It is called industrial self-government. And so logically does this mode of securing social justice fit in with Dr. Grant's whole analysis—with his prescription of "more democracy", with his melioristic rather than revolutionary temper—that what the book needs for final effectiveness seems to be just a full and detailed exposition of this plan. Lacking this, the treatise seems somewhat inconclusive, and it appears to place what is, so far as industry is concerned, a new principle, too nearly on a level with governmental concession and governmental attempts to regulate.

Dr. Grant's book has, indeed, the fault of being somewhat fragmentary in its treatment of social problems. Its chapters are rather too much like public addresses, practical, bullet-like, but not fashioned and joined with sufficient care. And although the author brings to bear upon his theme a store of knowledge both varied and thorough, it cannot be said that he selects and orders his facts with quite the skill of a trained economist.

Nevertheless, Dr. Grant shows a large grasp of the whole industrial situation, a sympathetic understanding of the point of view of the workers, a rare knowledge of the facts which they know and feel.

He has, moreover, an unusual power of arresting attention, of condensing much truth into a phrase, of rousing public opinion and pointing out the general direction of reform.

Quite as significant as anything in the book—though nearly all its contentions are timely and right—is the spirit in which the whole is written—a spirit of moral enthusiasm and of rigorous inquiry. Moral courage, strict impartiality, sympathy, and broad but thorough knowledge—who can use all these gifts to better advantage than can the man in the pulpit, and how except through their vigorous and practical employment is religion to accomplish its full usefulness?